1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kake torono en-gitaapare too-'l-Maasa, amu ten ajiakini en-dito: 'Inno, enna-taapai,' nashir nainig.

Ore en-guroi e-'n-gitaapare nāji En-guroi e-'n-daapai, arāki En-guroi e-'l-tiren.

But the Masai consider it wrong for unmarried people to have children, and if you say to a girl: 'Go away, you who have conceived,' she will weep bitterly.

A child not born in wedlock is called The child of seduction or The child of the fireplace.

'L-olkop.

Ten tar ol-murani loo-'l-Maasa ol-likae metaa, naipiri lido ttaara ale simdori.

Naa, ten otii 'l-alashera le-lido ttaarāki, pe metii 'l-oorish, uberi lido ttaariake.

Ore ten eita tari lido ttaariake, naitaki 'l-ederuak o-ettee oo 'l-alashera lido ttaariake, naitapaashi 'n-gitoni. E'ye lakwa ortaarāki ol-alashe en-gila e-lido ttaariake, ne'ye ol-ttaariake en-gila e-lakwa ortaarāki ol-alashe.

Netoni lakwa ortaarāki ol-alashe. Ore pe enata 'l-arin aare, naipat il-tadiguenik le'n-gishitini eeye, neyeo ilkidig in-gishe e-lido ttaara ol-likae, ne'yai 'n-gishe pikin enna en-jore.

Naa, ten otii en-gitedg naata ol-tuaia, taa inna epalakini.

Narāki ai ol-ashiket. Ore pe eleye eng-edg e-lido ttaarāki, nenapi naashime eng-edg eeye.

Kolashak il-Maasa ol-

Murder.

If a Masai warrior strikes another and kills him, he runs away and hides himself.

Should there be no judges, the brothers of the murdered man will kill the murderer.

If the latter is not killed, the elders make peace between the two families, and garments are exchanged. The family of the murdered man takes the murderer's garment, and the latter takes the garment of one of the dead man's brothers.

The murdered man's brothers then wait for two years, at the expiration of which they call together all their clan, and go and lift the murderer's cattle, taking them as they would in a raid.

If there is a cow in the herd with a bell tied round its neck, it is left behind.

The herdsmen is carried off as well; but when the party have arrived at the kraal where the murdered man lived, he is allowed to return to his own kraal.

Blood money is not paid by the

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

685 stolen, the fine is one ox for each sheep stolen. In the cases of thefts from *'l-meek*, the fines are always reduced, because it is held by the Masai that all the cattle in the country belong, in reality, to them.

If the thief has no cattle, he must give his daughter in marriage to the man whom he has robbed if the latter is a Masai. He gets paid the usual dowry for her, however. If the theft is one of money (a practically unknown crime), the amount of the fine is regulated by the amount of money stolen and the fine must be paid in cattle.

The offence of arson is not known, and there is no stated penalty. If, as a result of grass-burning or through carelessness, a man is the accidental cause of another's kraal being destroyed by fire, he is supposed to bring a bottle of honey, or a cow,[1] by way of compensation. No fine is laid down.

EN-GIOPO: ADULTERY. *EN-GITAAPARE*: SEDUCTION

684 [154] If it be known that a man has lain with a woman of another age, he is cursed and has to pay two bottles of honey and two cows before the Elders will remit the curse.[2] Should he be caught in the act, the friends of the cuckold tie him up at the kraal door and he is beaten, pelted with cow-dung and spat upon by everybody, including the women. If the offender is a warrior, his pigtail is cut off and he is cursed. This humiliating punishment is greatly dreaded.

It is no offence for a man to commit fornication or adultery with a woman or girl of his own age, but should a warrior fertilise an unmarried girl, it is considered very wrong. He [685] must pay a cow and a bottle of honey, and the child will be the property of the man the girl is going to marry.[3] If the girl is not engaged, the child will be the property of her father, or her eventual husband may take it. By arrangement, Masai warriors generally marry the girls they cause to conceive.

[1] The Masai are not definite regarding the cow in this case. In fact, the Elders had a mild squabble on the point when the above information was being taken.

[2] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 310.

[3] Masai girls are often engaged to be married from their very earliest years.

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
834 sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[191] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

● 847 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (see below) 848 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements 849 would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child 854 the cost of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, " because he has prevented the father

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

from having the honour of the least of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olokiloijuka* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olenguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olokiloitai* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkerret*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Kanyang.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own manyata. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and four are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, enk-ang, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife an allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are rigid and clear. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own ol-ayi) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 584

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, sub-alayeni. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 949 946 943 933 945

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, enters the oreo. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 953 952

on

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [592] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has thus obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called *ntaiyie*. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (*el barnito, el barnito*), then as actual warrior (*el murrani, el murrani*), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 584 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and • 598 usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed soon marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

[Warrior Ersal]

/94 cont./

936 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (se sendje) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime persons do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

As long as he is at home the lover with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover se sendje and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

Ill. 11. Warrior in war adornment.